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ABSTRACT

A study investigated how and why code switching and mixing occurs between English and Afrikaans in a region of South Africa. In District Six, non-standard Afrikaans seems to be a mixed code, and it is unclear whether non-standard English is a mixed code. Consequently, it is unclear when codes are being switched or mixed. The analysis looks at features of the non-standard dialects that are either directly traceable to the other language or are parallel to equivalent structures in the other language. This analysis includes lexical and morpho-syntactic features. It is argued that while the use of the mixed code, non-standard Afrikaans is much more common than code-switching, many instances of intra-clausal switches occur. Closer examination suggests that the point at which codes are switched is not necessarily the exact point at which one language ends and the other begins, but may be located some distance away at a bridge element (a word or phrase). It is unknown whether these shifts are just individual speakers' errors or eccentricities, a product of transitional instability as the speech community shifts toward English, or early signs of the development of a common structural and lexical stock to be freely mixed by speakers. (MSE)

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UNFILTERED TALK - A CHALLENGE TO CATEGORIES

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For the phrase 'unfiltered talk' I am indebted to a member of the speech community in which my research is based[1]: speaking with approbation of a progressive lawyer who had been helping working-class tenants to deal with slum landlords, she said: 'Hy het nie filter gepraat nie - hy het mooi plain gepraat dat 'n mens kan verstaan.' [He didn't talk filter(ed) - he talked nice and plain so that one could understand.]

Filters in cigarettes and speech are meant to keep impurities to a minimum; their unfiltered counterparts would seem to permit free access to whatever goes into making a strong cigarette or statement. Filtered speech allows only Afrikaans words with Afrikaans grammar, English words with English grammar. Plain or unfiltered speech allows a wide variety of mixing and combination of the two languages. When I tried to work out what the grammatical constraints on mixing and switching were, I found that my data forced me to ask other, prior questions - practical difficulties led to a series of theoretical and metatheoretical questions. How did this happen? What was it about the data that didn't seem to fit the categories and procedures productively used by so many researchers elsewhere?

The short answer is: convergence. Convergence at the phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic levels often make it difficult to identify a) whether words that fall at switch points should be regarded as English or Afrikaans or both; and b) whether certain syntactic structures should be regarded as ungrammatical, borrowed from the other language, or non-standard but not borrowed. Without clear identification of the boundaries of the lexicons of each code and of the range of morpho-syntactic structures that could be said to be integral to it (as either obligatory or optional elements) it is not possible, in a significant number of cases, to make a precise identification of the switch point. If it is not possible to do that, then one can proceed no further in categorising switches as inter- or intra-sentential, inter- or intra-clausal, between or within clause constituents. Nor is it possible to embark on an analysis of the grammaticality of those code-switched utterances.

First indications of the problems were rather unobtrusive. In the early part of the research project which draws on interviews to show speakers' linguistic preferences, it was my practice to italicise and translate those sections of quotations which were in Afrikaans. This procedure has respectable precedents and seemed sensible and unproblematic. But it was not. Consider my original transcription of these sentences (upper-case replaces italics):

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1 DAN SE HY 'N certain word VERKEERD [then he says a certain word wrongly]

2 DIT GEE HULLE a sense of solidarity [it gives them]

My supervisor, Roger Lass, challenged my classification by spelling and typography of the indefinite articles. In South African English the indefinite article 'a' sounds the same as its Afrikaans counterpart 'N: both are pronounced as a schwa. A note to the effect that these two words were phonologically indistinguishable would adequately cover that problem, I thought. Then I encountered a problem with the copula: the invariant present tense of the verb 'to be' in Afrikaans, and the third person singular of that verb in English are very similar if not indistinguishable, in some phonological environments e.g. 3 below. This was also drawn to my attention as was the dual status of the assent word JA, an Afrikaans word now an integral part of South African English. Again I thought notes describing the nature of the indeterminacy of these items would suffice. Later when I started to examine utterances for form rather than content I realised that the difficulty was not trivial. Firstly, the indefinite article and the shared form of the verb 'to be' frequently occurred at junctures where an English string ended and an Afrikaans one started or vice versa. Moreover, JA was just one of many words that could be said to enjoy dual status not necessarily in South Africa as a whole, but certainly in District Six. Scores of English nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and even some conjunctions are incoroporated into vernacular Afrikaans constructions, and, of course on many occasions they are part of a string which includes the indefinite article and/or they are followed by the verb 'to be', third person singular, present tense. An example was Ms L's rapidly uttered:

3 DAAI old lady HET NEERGESIT EN DIE nurse is missing [that old lady sat down and the nurse is missing]

As she pronounced it, the consonant in the penultimate word was not voiced and the vowel was a barely present schwa. One might think that in this sentence is would obviously be English, because the subject and the rest of the VP are English. But in this speech community the Afrikaans word for nurse VERPLEEGSTER is never used. Nurse is always used and it always takes an Afrikaans plural marker. (There is a choice of two in fact: word- final stressed e, or word-final te as in NURSTE.) Nor can one argue that it must be English because the other element of the verb phrase is English: that is not an inviolable rule in my data.

I began to see the implications of lexical indeterminacy for my identification of switch points. At the same time theoretical reading alerted me to the possibility of structural indeterminacy. Weinreich (1968) and Bynon (1977) argue that prolonged intensive contact between two languages can lead to structural changes in one or both. When I looked for them I found examples of English words strung together by the rules that would have governed that structure in Afrikaans, but not in standard English, e.g.

4 we going now home

Are they evidence of structural borrowing? Is such an explanation plausible? Is there an alternative analysis?

At this point let me present in schematic form the chain of questions my data has driven me to ask. Answering them all is quite beyond the scope of this paper but a tantalizing challenge for future work.

Practical questions:

a. Where does the switch start? Is the pivotal word English, Afrikaans or both?

b. Is the syntactic structure of the intra-clausally code-switched utterance English, Afrikaans, both, neither?

Theoretical questions:

c. What constitutes a borrowing, lexical or structural?

d. When does an item stop being a borrowing and become an integral part of the recipient language?

e. Can a code characterised by a high number of lexical items and/or structures whose sources are from two languages be called a dialect of either language? If so, which: the one supplying most of the syntax or the one supplying most of the lexicon?

Metatheoretical questions:

f. On what grounds and from whose perspective is it appropriate to decide on issues such as c,d, and e?

g. Is it wise to consider such questions from only one perspective?

h. Are these the most appropriate and productive questions to ask in response to my data and other data that is similar?

In sum, the problems arise because the local dialects of English and Afrikaans now share some linguistic features which, in other parts of South Africa, are peculiar to either one language or the other. Phonology, lexis, morphology and syntax all show traces of convergence. Particular temporal and social circumstances are required for such a range of contact phenomena to occur. Were those of District Six conducive to such contact? Historical evidence is patchy. It records the impressions, experiences and aspirations of some groups and is silent on those of others. But even on this limited evidence it seems that the necessary conditions for such fruitful language contact did exist[2].

Cape Dutch (later Afrikaans) and English have been in contact for about 180 years in Cape Town. They were the languages of the dominant groups, but it would be a mistake to think of them as being the languages of the dominant classes only. In the 17th and 18th centuries Dutch was a lingua franca between slaves and their owners, and also among slaves who came from Ceylon, the East Indies, Madagascar and various parts of East and West Africa. Cape Dutch came to differ quite extensively from dialects of Dutch spoken in Europe and it had relatively low prestige. The 19th century brought British colonial rule and

slave emancipation. Freed slaves and their descendants were among those who settled in District Six during the 19th century. Other settlers in the area were English speakers from various parts of the U.K. and Ireland, and in the last three decades of the century they were joined by Mozambicans, Swazis, Zulus, and a very large contingent of Yiddish speakers from Eastern Europe. English was used as a lingua franca among the neighbourhood's residents.

The contact between Cape Dutch - later Afrikaans - and English was intensive, many faceted, and of long duration. It was made through ethnically heterogeneous people who had no emotional investment in keeping either language 'pure' as their identities were not tied up with them in the way that, say, the identity of white Afrikaners has been with standard Afrikaans. An effect of apartheid policies was the alienation of Afrikaans speakers classified as 'Coloured' from those classified as 'White' and from their dialect of Afrikaans, if not from the language as a whole. In District Six the most striking feature of vernacular Afrikaans is prolific lexical borrowing from English, a practice which was anathema to 'white' Afrikaans nationalists at whose hands residents suffered erosions of civil rights including their right to live in District Six. In the remnant of that area where my field-work was done the local dialect of Afrikaans, called kombuistaal [kitchen language], is valued as a marker of neighbourhood solidarity and people seldom speak the standard dialect even where schooling has given them competence in it.

Kombuistaal should, I think, be regarded as a mixed code in itself - mixing is not just a speaker strategy. English loanwords form a high proportion of its speakers' vocabulary and there seems to be English influence in verb-placement rules. It has been used for a long time and so, while the gates of its lexicon are open, its grammatical structure is fairly stable. The case of local English is almost the reverse: as the higher prestige language its lexicon has absorbed little from Afrikaans, but because it is in the process of becoming a first language, its grammatical structure is not as stable. It is being introduced to children by adults whose first language is vernacular Afrikaans. Because of the nature of that dialect, speakers have quite a big English vocabulary but because they have seldom had sufficient formal education to have acquired a mastery of standard English syntax and idiomatic usage, they use a large number of calques in talking English to their children. The distinctive features of this L2 variety of English are not being entrenched because the neighbourhood's children have far more formal education than their parents did and therefore have more exposure to and drill in standard English syntax. They also have the motivation to learn to speak and write standard English. Non-standard English doesn't seem to have any particular social value and thus there is no apparent reason for its speakers to wish to preserve it. This is not true of non-standard Afrikaans.

At this point let me give a diagrammatic representation of the community's linguistic repertoire. (Of course not everyone has equal command of all of its codes.)

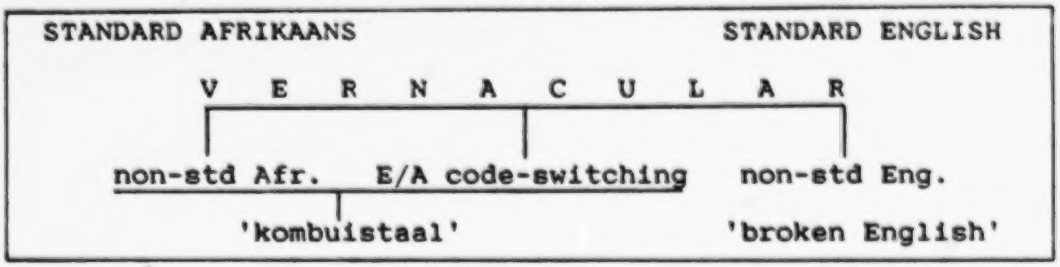

Fig. 1

The terms in inverted commas are those most commonly used by members of the speech community. Contrasting modes of referring to local English and Afrikaans indicate that the English is not seen as a dialect but as imperfectly learned English, whereas speakers are quite clear that their Afrikaans is a dialect in its own right, albeit one with low prestige.

The term kombuistaal, as members of the speech community use it, covers both the mixed code, non-standard Afrikaans, and switching between English and Afrikaans strings. They do not distinguish between mixing and switching, whereas I have found it necessary to do so. I shall indicate briefly what I mean by these terms because they are used differently by different researchers (see Schatz 1988 for an overview of the range of current meanings of these terms).

'Code-mixing' refers to cases of insertion of elements of one code into another code. Lexical items from one language may be incorporated into utterances constructed by the rules of the other language as in:

5 but TOE RAAK DIE Marion boring EK IS NIE 'N/a member VAN DIE C.A.P. NIE but EK attend HULLE functions [but then the Marion (Institute) became boring I am not a member of C.A.P. (Community Arts Project) but I attend their functions]

Or syntactic rules from both languages may be used in utterances where the vocabulary is all from one language, as in:

6 are you going tomorrow home

'Code-switching' on the other hand refers to utterances in which there is an alternation of English words strung together by English syntactic rules, and Afrikaans words strung together by the rules of Afrikaans syntax:

7 dis op Waalstraat you know Wale Street oor Buitengrachtstraat [it's on Wale Street ... across / above Buitengracht Street]

Those definitions cover the clear cases of mixing and switching, but what makes the District Six data so interesting and challenging to work with is that a significant proportion of

cases are not clear. This is because, switching aside, each code shows traces of the other. Non-standard Afrikaans seems to me to be a mixed code. Until we know whether the structures in non-standard English which parallel those of Afrikaans were also features of the dialects of English spoken by early settlers in the area, we cannot know how strong the case is for saying that local non-standard English is a mixed code. Whether it is or not, it is not stable. Switching between codes like these does not lend itself to the kind of analysis that is premised upon the assumption that the contributing codes are standard and stable, an assumption that underlies much of the work done so far on grammatical constraints on code-switching, as Clyne points out (1987: 743-744).

Linguistic features of non-standard dialects in District Six

As preparation for discussion of the kind of code-mixing and code-switching that occurs in my data I shall give a very brief description of the non-standard features of the two dialects which are either directly traceable to the other language or are parallel to equivalent structures in the other language. I shall deal with the lexicons first and then with morpho-syntactic structures.

The movement of loan-words between the two languages is not equal in both directions, either in type or in quantity: there are far more words of English origin used in sentences with Afrikaans syntax than vice versa.

The Afrikaans loan-words found in non-standard English are of a different sort from English loan-words in Afrikaans. They are mostly fillers with no obvious, easily translatable English equivalent:

8 you know my other friend **NE** her name is Wendy **NE**

or they are part of current slang as in the first emphasized word of 9. (The second is another filler meaning something like 'just'.)

9 but sometimes when I get the **MOER** in I **SOMMER** hit from A to Z [To 'get the MOER in' is to 'become angry or fed-up'.]

Sometimes Afrikaans nouns, verbs and adjectives are used because of their particular emotional colouring.

The lexicon of non-standard Afrikaans draws heavily on English, so heavily that Ms A, a typical member of the speech community could say aptly, 'When I speak Afrikaans I use English words most of the time.' The status that these English loan-words have in the eyes of the speech community and should have in the eyes of linguists is not easy to determine. They usually appear in one of the five sets of circumstances described below.

a) Speakers know both the English and the Afrikaans words for something. They use both freely, in single language and in mixed utterances, their choice on particular occasions being determined

by felt stylistic need or perceived emotional tone or social connotation. Here both they and the linguist would be fairly clear about the status of the English words in Afrikaans syntax - they would be regarded as loan-words.
b) Speakers use an English word in an Afrikaans sentence. They know it is English. They know what the Afrikaans equivalent is but neither they nor anyone else in the speech community would ever use it among themselves. Talking of cottonwool, one speaker said, 'You know I mean "watte" is the right word but we never use it.'
c) Speakers use an English word in an Afrikaans construction. They know it is English but they do not know what the Afrikaans counterpart is. Names of car parts were given as examples of this phenomenon.
d) Speakers use an English word in an Afrikaans utterance and do not know that it is English, nor do they know of an Afrikaans equivalent. (I have had to punctuate the next example as it contains dialogue within dialogue and would be difficult to follow otherwise.)

> HIER KOM HAAR MA SE 'NETTIE, WAT HET HULLE NOU GEPRAAT VAN "TOEBROODJIES"?' TOE SE EK ' 'What do you mean?' 'They say you going to make us uh TOEBROODJIES.' TOE SE EK 'That's sandwiches.' TOE SE SY 'Well, to hell! I didn't know. The first time in my life I heard it.' [Here comes her mother and says 'What were they saying about "sandwiches"?' Then I say ... Then she says ...]

e) Speakers use an English word in an Afrikaans utterance because there isn't an Afrikaans equivalent. For example the ideological colouring received from the contexts in which the dictionary equivalents 'the struggle' and DIE STRYD are usually used in contemporary South Africa make them unusable as translations of each other.

According to Bynon (1977:27) loan-words can either retain their original morphology for tense, person, plurality etc. or they can adopt those of the receiving language. On the whole in vernacular Afrikaans, verbs adopt Afrikaans morphology and nouns retain English morphological markers. Nouns constitute the largest class of loan-words, followed in this order by adjectives, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions. The only Afrikaans classes that appear to have remained entirely intact and uneroded by English are the prepositions and the personal pronoun system. As is common in so many other language contact situations it is mainly open class words that are borrowed, but there are instances of loan-words from a closed class as well. Bynon (1977:231) interprets such prolific borrowing as indicative of language contact of a particular kind, (a kind found in District Six):

> It would at any rate seem likely that borrowing from closed classes will only be possible in situations of intense linguistic exchange since it presupposes the cross-linguistic equation of syntactic patterns, whereas mere lexical borrowing from open classes would require only a minimum of bilingual speakers in the transmission process.

In the discussion below of morpho-syntactic features I give evidence of some 'cross-linguistic equation of syntactic patterns'. Whatever its origin might be, equation or convergence is evident. I deal first with two features of non-standard Afrikaans (nsA) that may have arisen as a result of contact with English, and then go on to look at a set of features of non-standard English (nsE) which differ from those of standard English, are similar to those for the equivalent structures in Afrikaans, but in most cases are also found in other dialects of English.

Violations of rules governing verb-placement

The most striking syntactic feature of nsA distinguishing it from standard Afrikaans (sA) is the violation of Verb-second and related rules. The V2 rule applies in main clauses. In sA the tense marked part of the V has to come second and where this is an auxiliary, the MV goes to clause-final position and all other material goes between the verb elements, e.g. SY WIL MY GRAAG HELP [she wants to / is willing to help me]. (An exception to this is found in the case of an adverbial consisting of more than four words - such an adverbial may be extraposed.) In subordinate clauses the word order depends on the class of conjunction that introduces it. One class requires the word order of main clauses, e.g. SY SAL WAG WANT SY WIL MY GRAAG HELP [she will wait because she wants to help me]. The other requires that all of the verb material goes to the end of the clause in this order: modal aux, MV, tense/aspectual aux., e.g. EK WAS JAMMER OMDAT EK HAAR GRAAG SOU GEHELP HET [I was sorry because I would willingly have helped her].

What happens in nsA is that there is 'unlicenced' rightward movement of material that in sA would come within the aux. - MV sentence brace, putting that material (instead of MV or aux.) in clause-final position. The result in many cases is word order which is identical to that of English. In the examples that follow, the nsA version is given first, and the sA equivalent is given in 'b'.

10 ONS MOET study ALTWEE [we must study both]
10b ONS MOET ALTWEE STUDIE
11 EK SAL NOGAL choose ENGELS [I would still choose English]
11b EK SAL / SOU NOGAL ENGELS KIES
12 SOMS DINK DIS stupid OM TE mix DIE TWEE TALE [some (people) think it's stupid to mix the two languages]
12b SOMMIGE MENSE DINK DIS DOM OM DIE TWEE TALE TE MENG

Change of word function

The contracted form DAAI of demonstrative adjective DAARDIE [that] is frequently used as a pronoun and can be used as subject or object as just as 'that' can used be in English, whereas sA would require a noun after DAAI.

13 EK second DAAI [I second that]
14 DAAI affect NIE VIR ONS NIE [that doesn't affect us]

The pronoun almal ['everyone', often used in nsA to mean

'everything'] can be used as a demonstrative adjective:

15 EN NOU WAT VAN please and thank you EN ALMAL DAAI [and now what about please and thank you and all that]

It seems that the change of function of ALMAL and DAAI could be ascribed to the influence of English, imitating its economy of form: one word for 'that' in both functions (demonstrative adjective and pronoun) and one word for 'all' in both functions (though 'all' is not always interchangeable with 'everybody').

In the following list of distinctively non-standard morpho-syntactic features of English those constructions that occur in standard Afrikaans are marked with +A and those that occur in other dialects of English are marked with +OE.

Verb-related features

(a) Person-marking

(i) The verb 'to be' as both auxiliary and main verb usually has the same form for third person singular and plural. It is the sE third person singular form. This is more predictable where the subject is not a pronoun. (+A +OE)

16 is the tickets available

17 the minutes was proposed

Other verbs tend to have word-final s omitted in the present tense from the third person singular, present tense, but added to the third person plural. (+OE). As Afrikaans verbs are not marked for person, attention is drawn to person-marking in English when Afrikaans speakers are taught English. I think it likely that they over-generalize the plural marking rule for nouns and put the word-final s on to verbs with plural subjects. My hypothesis was confirmed by local university students' answers to an examination question concerning the rules governing young nsE speakers' use of verbs in dialogue which contained examples of the use of word-final s described above. The most common explanation given was that 'the children have not yet learned that a third person singular subject takes a plural verb': clearly, word-final s on any word is regarded as an indication of their plurality.

(b) Tense, aspect and modal marking

(i) Past tense is frequently indicated by using the unemphatic dummy verb 'did'. (OE) This is particularly common among children.

18 he did eat his food

It is possible that this is done by analogy with Afrikaans which does not use a dummy verb in the past tense but which almost always has two words to mark the past tense: the participle HET and the MV prefixed by GE-.

Other deletions

(a) Serial markers 'and' and 'to' may be deleted, creating serial verb constructions that are not common in standard South African English. (+A +OE)

19 we did go sleep there

Most of the examples I have have 'go' as part of the serial. The

Afrikaans equivalent GAAN is used in the same way, so this could be a case of Afrikaans influence.
(b) The suffix '-ly' may be deleted from adverbs giving them the same form as the related adjectives (+OE +A), but as 21 indicates, this is optional:

20 it's very tight fastened
21 she can write properly but I can't write nice

Placing of adverbials
(a) The adverbial may immediately precede the object, which is not possible in sE. (+A)

22 I'm going to make now a snake

(b) Adverbs of time precede those of place instead of the reverse, which is the sE order. (+A)

23 she's going now home

The placing of adverbials has, as far as I know, no equivalent in other dialects of English so it probably comes from Afrikaans.

Double negation (+A +OE)
This is particularly likely to occur when the sentence has a slot for 'any', 'anything', 'anyone':

24 he haven't got no hair
25 don't bring nothing to eat

The word order is not the same as that for Afrikaans double negatives, but perhaps the principle of double negative marking in Afrikaans influenced the retention of this feature from other non-standard English dialects spoken in District Six.

Pronoun and demonstrative adjective concord
One form, 'that', tends to be favoured for use in both singular and plural constructions, where sE would use 'that' for the singular only and 'those' for the plural. This applies to the use of the word in both the pronoun and demonstrative adjective functions (+A):

26 that is other people's constitutions
27 he must take from that reserves

This economy of form is similar to that of sA in that sA doen't have singular and plural forms for non-personal pronouns. Again, as far as I know, this feature is not found in other dialects of English and thus probably comes from Afrikaans.

Code-switching

In the speech community the use of the mixed code, non-standard Afrikaans, is far more common than code-switching. In the taped discourse of 60 adults there were only 24 who switched, and they produced a total of no more than 324 switches within a conversational turn. All such instances were analysed and grouped into inter-sentential, inter-clausal and intra-clausal switches. The distinction between the first two categories is that the units that I am calling 'sentences' are not linked by conjunctions whereas those that I refer to as 'clauses' are. The last category 'fuzzy cases' is the most interesting, the one that raises the problems which led to the series of practical, theoretical and metatheoretical questions listed earlier and it

is on this category that I shall concentrate after giving a summary of the distribution of types of code-switching that occur in the speech of 24 adults in interviews and meetings.

TYPE	NUMBER		%	
INTER-SENTENTIAL SWITCHES	90		27,6	
INTER-CLAUSAL SWITCHES	84		25,8	
between co-ordinate clauses		23		7,1
around parenthetical clauses		30		9,2
between clauses in dependent rel.		31		9,5
INTRA-CLAUSAL SWITCHES	97		29,8	
OTHER	33		10,7	
incomplete clause + restart		26		7,9
after voiced hesitation		9		2,8
FUZZY CASES	20		6,1	

Fig.2

Let us examine four examples of 'fuzzy cases':

28 and I have to call my people to say look we are not having a dinner stall **because** EK HET VIR JULLE REGUIT GESE MY MENSE HET VIR MY GEVRA AS ONS MENSE DIE dinner stall KAN VAT **because** every year they go to the bazaar they don't get the proper food [I told you straight my people asked me if we could take the dinner stall]

The causal conjuction most commonly used in vernacular Afrikaans is 'because'. In 28 it occurs first at the end of an English clause introducing an Afrikaans one, and then at the end of a non-standard Afrikaans clause where it introduces an English one.

29 AS ONS DÃAI tickets KAN VERKOOP KRY **'s all right** then we got it [if we can get those tickets sold]

The phrase in bold print is part of vernacular Afrikaans.

30 DIS WAAR WANT EK enjoy MYSELF JA EK **lyk happiness** I like to be happy [it's true because I enjoy myself yes I]

There is a standard Afrikaans word LYK but it means 'resemble' whereas in 30 it has its non-standard Afrikaans meaning: 'like'. The standard Afrikaans word for 'happiness' is seldom if ever used in this speech community.

Taking these three examples together it could be said that words and phrases in bold print belong to both of the codes between which switching occurs. As a result the location of a switch point is problematic and so is analysis that depends upon locating it. Cases such as these pose an important challenge, in theory, to the analysis of switches between non-standard dialects that bear traces of a long history of contact. What is challenged in particular is the notion that a switch occurs between the last word of a string in language x and the first word of a string in language y. In my data it would be productive to have an additional way of locating the juncture, to use the notion of a bridge element (which could be a word or a

phrase) as the location of a switch. Examples of such elements are the bold print sections of 28, 29 and 30. This idea is superficially similar to that of the 'trigger' - see for instance Clyne (1987:744-745) - but, unlike it, is more compatible with a system-oriented than a speaker-oriented approach. As I understand it, the concept of the 'trigger' word suggests something which is difficult to verify about the speaker's consciousness of the dual status of the word and about the way in which utterances are planned. The alternative that I offer doesn't exclude the possibility that a dual status word acts as a trigger for the speaker, but it does not depend on it.

The last example that I wish to consider poses a problem in the analysis of its grammaticality:

31 MAAR VAN HOOR AAN STORIES you know EN /and tv watch

The sA-sE version would be:

31b MAAR VAN STORIES LUISTER you know and watching tv

(In this environment EN and 'and' are indistinguishable in pronunciation.) In the vernacular version the Afrikaans lexical string seems to be directly modelled on its equivalent in English 'but about listening to stories', and the apparently English string is modelled on its Afrikaans equivalent en televisie kyk. There are a few other comparable examples. Are they just individual speakers' errors or eccentricites, a product of transitional instability as the speech community shifts towards English, or the early signs of the development of a common structural and lexical stock which speakers can freely 'mix and match'? I suspect that we will never know because a combination of higher literacy rates, more formal schooling and the prestige of English will intervene to halt the convergence thus eliminating the third alternative.

Notes

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1 Field work was done in part of District Six, Cape Town.

2 The evidence is presented in Chapters 1 and 2 of my doctoral thesis, English and Afrikaans in District Six, which is to be submitted at the University of Cape Town later in 1988.

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